

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 ACDA-19

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S E C R E T GENEVA 4397

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: PROPOSAL FOR CONSULTATIONS ON ESSENTIALS

REF: MADRID 4339

SUMMARY: INITIAL REACTION OF NATO DELEGATION HEADS TO US PROPOSAL FOR CONSULTATIONS ON ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR SUCCESSFUL CSCE WAS SATISFACTORY. PRINCIPAL COMMON THEME IN ALLIED POSITIONS WAS THAT MAIN WORK ON THIS PROJECT SHOULD BE DONE IN GENEVA. END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER SOME INITIAL SOUR REMARKS, NATO DELEGATION HEADS' CAUCUS JULY 10 REACTED POSITIVELY TO GENERAL THRUST OF US SUGGESTION FOR NATO REVIEW OF CSCE PROGRESS, STOCKTAKING, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF AGREED SET OF MINIMUM ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS. AS WE EXPECTED, MAIN THEME WAS THAT BASIC WORK SHOULD BE DONE IN GENEVA. OTHER THEMES WERE THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO ATTEMPT TO COME TO DETAILED AGREEMENTS, THAT NO WESTERN PAPERS SHOULD BE DROPPED, THAT THE PROCESS SHOULD NOT BE RUSHED, AND THAT IDEAL TIMETABLE WOULD BE TO COME TO SOME CONCLUSIONS PRIOR TO RESUMPTION OF CSCE IN SEPTEMBER. PRINCIPLE STATEMENTS MADE ARE SUMMARIZED BELOW.

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2. CANADIAN REP, READING FROM INSTRUCTIONS SENT TO CANADIAN DELEGATION AT NATO, SAID CANADA CONSIDERED THE WHOLE EXERCISE PREMATURE AND RISKY, SINCE OUR ESSENTIAL MINIMUM WOULD LEAK TO THE SOVIETS AND WE WOULD HAVE TO NEGOTIATE FOR LESS. HE QUESTIONED WHETHER THIS APPROACH WAS POSSIBLE IN A MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATION, AND STRESSED THE NEED FOR DETAILED WORK IN GENEVA. IN ANY CASE, CANADA HAS NO "COMPLUSION" TO MOVE ON TO A HIGH-LEVEL THIRD STAGE. IF THERE IS TO BE ANY REVIEW, ALL QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REVIEWED CAREFULLY IN GENEVA IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, AND HERE SHOULD BE NO ATTEMPT TO COME TO AGREED TEXTS AT NATO. ANY SUCH REVIEW SHOULD PREFERABLY TAKE PLACE AFTER ALL MAJOR TEXTS HAVE BEEN REGISTERED IN GENEVA, AND NOT BEFORE.

3. ITALIAN REP NOTED THAT WESTERN PROPOSALS IN BASKET III MATCH ITEMS LISTED IN HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS. REFERRING TO A REMARK ATTRIBUTED TO THE SECRETARY, HE SAID THERE WERE ABOUT 25 ALLIED PAPERS "KICKING AROUND" IN BASKET III BECAUSE THERE WERE ABOUT 25 SUBJECTS IN BASKET III. THE NATO GROUP HAD PRESENTED ONE PAPER FOR EACH SUBJECT, AS ORIGINALLY SUGGESTED BY THE U.S. AT NATO. SINCE BASKET III IS BASICALLY COMPOSED OF WESTERN SUGGESTIONS, DROPPING SOME PROPOSALS WOULD MEAN ABANDONING ITEMS ON THE AGREED AGENDA FROM HELSINKI. ITALIAN REP CONCLUDED THAT NATO EXERCISE SHOULD THEREFORE NOT BE AIMED AT ELIMINATING SOME NATO PAPERS, BUT AT IDENTIFYING WHICH PAPERS AND WHICH SPECIFIC POINTS WITHIN THEM WERE MOST IMPORTANT, SO THAT WE COULD GIVE GREATER STRESS TO THESE. ACCORDING TO ITALIAN REP, ANY SUCH EXERCISE SHOULD BE CONDUCTED IN GENEVA FOR PRACTICAL AND POLITICAL REASONS: PRACTICAL, BECAUSE EXPERTISE ON CSCE EXISTS ONLY IN GENEVA; AND POLITICAL BECAUSE IRISH, WHO BELONG TO EC-NINE, ARE NOT PRESENT AT NATO, AND BECAUSE NEUTRALS, WHO ARE ALSO NOT PRESENT AT NATO, HAVE TO BE BROUGHT ALONG WITH WESTERN POSITIONS IF WESTERN PROPOSALS ARE TO SUCCEED. CSCE IS NOT A BLOC-TO-BLOC NEGOTIATION AND THE WEST HAS AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL INTEREST IN MAINTAINING THIS. IN SUM, THIS EXERCISE WOULD "TAKE UNTIL 1980" IF DONE AT NATO, AND SHOULD THEREFORE BE CONDUCTED IN GENEVA. PORTUGUESE REP GENERALLY AGREED WITH ITALIAN VIEWS.

4. BELGIUM AND UK TOOK POSITION THAT DISCUSSION AT NATO SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED, BUT THAT SIGNIFICANT INPUT FROM GENEVA WOULD BE

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REQUIRED. EFFORT IN GENEVA SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD TRANSLATING NEGOTIATING SPECIFICS INTO POLITICALLY MEANINGFUL POSITIONS WHICH COULD BE UNDERSTOOD AND BACKED BY THE NATO COUNCIL AND POLITICAL LEVELS OF ALLIED GOVERNMENTS. THIS SHOULD NOT BE A RUSHED PROCESS, AND THE AIM SHOULD BE FOR A "STEAMLINED" ALLIED POSITION WHEN NEGOTIATIONS RESUME IN SEPTEMBER.

5. NORWEGIAN REP, READING FROM INSTRUCTIONS TO NORWEGIAN

DELEGATION AT NATO, SAID NORWAY SEES SOME VALUE IN A SOTK-TAKING EXERCISE IN NAC, BUT BELIEVES RESULTS SHOULD NOT BE FINALIZED UNTIL AS LATE AS POSSIBLE IN CSCE NEGOTIATIONS. THERE SHOULD BE NO ATTEMPT TO COME TO DETAILED AGREEMENTS, BUT RATHER TO ESTABLISH MAIN DESIDERATA WITHIN CSCE AGENDA ITEMS. DETAILED AGREEMENTS IN NATO COULD COMPLICATE TASK OF ALLIED NEGOTIATORS, WHO NEED MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY. NORWEGIAN REP AGREED WITH OTHERS THAT MAIN WORK ON THIS PROJECT WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE IN GENEVA.

6. FRG REP, WHO WAS WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, SAW HIS AS A PRACTICAL PROBLEM, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF PROBABLE CSCE RECESS ABOUT JULY 26. IT WOULD BE IDEAL TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION IN GENEVA, BUT NO ONE WILL BE HERE DURING THE RECESS. SOLUTION MIGHT BE TO CONVEY VIEWS OF GENEVA DELEGATIONS TO DELEGATIONS AT NATO, AND THEN CONCENTRATE SPC CONSULTATIONS IN PERIOD PRIOR TO RESUMPTION OF CSCE ABOUT SEPTEMBER 9.

7. FRENCH REP, SPEAKING FOR EC-NINE, SAID U.S. IDEA OF ESTABLISHING ESSENTIAL MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS HAS ALSO BEEN IN MINDS OF EC-NINE FOR SOME TIME, AND THIS QUESTION IS CURRENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION (USDEL NOTE: WE UNDERSTAND EC-NINE CSCE SUBCOMMITTEE IN GENEVA AS, IN FACT, COMPLETED WORK ON A LIST OF ESSENTIAL MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS, WHICH WILL BE PRESENTED TO POLITICAL DIRECTORS THIS WEEK FOR APPROVAL PRIOR TO NAC MEETING OF JULY 17). SPEAKING FOR FRENCH DELEGATION, FRENCH REP SAID FRANCE COULD NOT ACCEPT CARRYING OUT THIS EXERCISE AT NATO BECAUSE OF ITS OPPOSITION TO A BLOC-TO-BLOC APPROACH TO CSCE. WESTERN GROUP HAS GAINED CONFIDENCE OF THE NEUTRALS, AND THEY MUST BE BROUGHT ALONG IN ANY DETERMINATION OF POSITIONS. FOR THIS AND PRACTICAL REASONS CITED BY OTHERS, EXERCISE SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN GENEVA. FRENCH REP REITERATED ITALIAN VIEW THAT NO WESTERN PAPERS IN BASKET III

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SHOULD BE DROPPED.

8. A FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT IS PLANNED FOR JULY 16.DALE

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Message Attributes

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